

COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

385]

LONDON, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1819.

[386

The next Register will be *stamped*, I dare say; and, therefore, it will go *by post*.—The mode of obtaining it will be by *writing to the Publisher*, 299, Strand, London.—N.B. There are a few of the third edition of Cobbett's English Grammar unsold.

TO  
MR. JAMES PAUL COBBETT,  
AT NEW YORK.

*On my Progress from Liverpool to  
London, and on the State of Public  
Affairs in England at this time.*

"Tis all a libel, Paxton, Sir, will say.  
"Not yet, my friend: *to-morrow*, faith it may;  
"And for that very cause, I print to day."  
POPE, *Epilo. to Sat.*

London, 2d December, 1819.

MY DEAR JAMES,

What all of us expected has really happened: the *parliament has been called together*; and it actually met, for *dispatch of business, the very day after I landed!* How that excellent man, JUDGE MITCHELL, will laugh! He, particularly, begged of me not to give any notice of my intention to go home; "for," said he, "if you do, you will, surely, find them *sitting to receive you*." I said, that I had no doubt of something being done to narrow the circulation of the Register; and, you will see, that it is now proposed to put a *stamp* upon all *publications* of less than *two sheets*, containing "*Letters on matters of Church or State*." The Register was not pointed out by *name*; but you, my dear son, will upon reading the debates, want no naming to make you perceive the whole drift of *this measure* in particular.

There are divers other measures, of which I shall have to speak hereafter; but, only think of a measure like this *at this day!* In December 1816, such a measure would have had some sense in it; but *now*, when there is scarcely a human being, amongst the working classes, whose mind is not perfectly enlightened as to all the matters, on which light was required; *now*, at

*this day*, what must we think of such a measure!

The Register will *return to the stamp*. It will go up again in price, I "*stooped to conquer*;" and now I will rise again in order to make the conquest more sure. The hundred Registers, sent from the groves of Hyde Park, the name of which will always awaken most interesting recollections; that hundred Registers have finished the work of *enlightening* as to *main principles*; as to *great causes*; as to *effectual remedies*. What remains to be done must be more of an *occasional nature*; must be called forth by events and acts as they arise before me; and, I am quite convinced, that every thing that I desire to see accomplished, will be accomplished, and that, too, without any effort of a *violent nature*, either in words or in actions; either on the part of the press, or on the part of the people. Be you, therefore, perfectly easy, my dear James, on the score of *danger* to me; for, I must become weary of my own personal safety, if I, in order most effectually to serve the cause of the people, write one single word which can offend against any law that it will, *at present*, be possible to pass. Before the close of this great drama, it may, perhaps, be unsafe to put pen to paper at all; but, *as yet*, there will be liberty of the press enough left to enable me, without any sort of danger, to write and publish every thing that I have any wish to send forth from the press.

The number of the stamped Registers cannot be a fifth part of that of the "*Two-Penny Trash*;" but, then, the people well know how to manage the matter in such a way as to secure *reading enough*. Six men can take one Register, instead of six Registers;

and thus will the purpose be equally well obtained.

Now, before I proceed to describe to you the state of the country, let me indulge myself in the great pleasure of giving you an account of my *own reception* in England; and, even from that you will judge of the state of the public mind; while you will feel, I am sure, the highest degree of satisfaction and pride.

After twenty-one days sailing over a sea almost as smooth as the beautiful Long-Island Lake, I arrived at Liverpool, on a Sunday Evening. We were not permitted to land until the Monday about two o'clock. There had been a great multitude assembled on the wharfs the whole of the day; and, when I landed, with the polite and kind Captain Cobb, I was received with cheers and with shakings by the hand, which made me feel that I was once again in England. It was my own opinion, that I ought instantly to go on to some large and open place, and return thanks. But as there were two gentlemen with me who thought it best that I should, for the present, retire, I told the people, that before my departure from Liverpool, I would meet them, and thank them publicly.

I soon learned, that the whole *county of Lancaster* was in a stir to give me a hearty welcome; and, upon receiving that information, I published the following address and notification.

#### TO THE REFORMERS

IN AND NEAR MANCHESTER.

*Liverpool, Nov. 23, 1819.*

"FRIENDS AND FELLOW COUNTRY-MEN.—It appears, from the public papers, that you have the kind intention to give me a formal and public welcome on my return to my country, and to invite me into your neighbourhood. Nothing in this world could be more gratifying to my feelings: there is nothing of which I should be so proud as of such a reception, on such an occasion, by such men; men so pre-

eminent in political knowledge, public spirit, and real loyalty.

"Suffer me, however, to observe, that I, who have quitted happy America, and returned to my now miserable, though always beloved country, from no other motive than that of a hope to be able to assist in restoring her to her former state, am extremely anxious, that a proceeding, designed to do honour to me, should be attended with no one circumstance, however slight, tending to produce violence, or even discord. The situation of our country is sufficiently awful; the passions already excited are sufficiently violent, without making my intended welcome the means of adding to the calamity.

"The heart, which, under the contemplation of the present state of the noble county of Lancaster, can retain its wonted beat, must be formed of materials very different from those of mine. To behold scenes of unparalleled industry, talent, and enterprise, and sources of individual happiness and national wealth and power, turned into scenes of strife and distraction, and sources of misery, must deeply afflict any man, and especially one, who can appeal to all the acts of his life in proof of his ardent desire to promote the happiness and honour, and to insure the freedom, the greatness, and the renown of England. Therefore, upon the present occasion, while my bosom is filled with sorrow on account of the recent melancholy events in this county, let me beseech you to refrain from every thing that might be likely to mix up, in any degree, your reception of me with those events.

"In entering Manchester I shall see, for my part, none but friends, being well assured that I merit the enmity of no Englishman in the world. If I find enemies, let them be such without provocation and without reason. To be received by you, in the manner I hear you in-

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"tend, will be an honour far greater  
 "than any other that could be be-  
 "stowed upon me; and I most anxi-  
 "ously wish to receive it unalloyed  
 "by any thing calculated to give pain  
 "to any real friend of peace, order,  
 "the King, and the laws.

"I am, my kind and generous friends,  
 "Your faithful and devoted servant,  
 "WM. COBBETT."

# "TO THE PEOPLE OF LIVER- POOL.

"Liverpool, Nov. 24, 1819.

"On the day of my landing here, I  
 "promised my friends, who were anx-  
 "ious to see me, that I would give  
 "them an opportunity of doing so be-  
 "fore my departure. In fulfilment of  
 "this promise, I intend to be at a pub-  
 "lic meeting, in Clayton-square, on  
 "Friday, the 26th instant, at twelve  
 "o'clock. WM. COBBETT."

Agreeably to this notification, I pro-  
 ceeded, at the time appointed, to Clay-  
 ton-square. The assemblage was, as  
 I was informed, the largest ever seen  
 in Liverpool. It consisted of some  
 thousands more than those who  
 stood within the hearing of me;  
 and those must have been several thou-  
 sands. There were, when we entered  
 the Square, some persons, who began  
 to *hiss*; but these, of the *discounting*  
 and *accommodation* race, were soon  
 driven by the *real people*, to take  
 shelter where they could.

To this Square, and after I had ad-  
 dressed the people, came Deputies from  
 several parts of Lancashire, and par-  
 ticularly from Manchester, Bolton,  
 Blackburn, Preston and Warrington,  
 with addresses to present to me;  
*signed*, all together, by about *forty-*  
*five thousand persons*, according to the  
 best counting that we have been as yet  
 able to make. One of these addresses  
 (the whole of which I shall publish  
 and answer another time) was from  
 the *Females of Bolton*. Super-excel-  
 lent in point of style and sentiment,  
 and signed by *nineteen hundred names*.

In delivering these addresses, one of  
 the Deputies, Mr. Johnson, of Man-

chester, in the name of all the ad-  
 dressers, welcomed me home, and ex-  
 pressed to me the confidence of the  
 people in the success of my future  
 endeavours to rescue them from their  
 miseries and to preserve them from the  
 machinations of Corruption; while  
 he expressed to me the peoples' deep  
 sense of the services I had rendered  
 them during my absence in America.

From the Square the people (put-  
 ting aside the horses) drew me to my  
 lodgings, where I took my leave of  
 them by expressing thanks, which  
 came from the bottom of my heart.

In the evening of the same day I ac-  
 cepted of an invitation to a public  
 dinner, to which about sixty persons  
 (as our enemies say) sat down. The  
 usual compliments passed on this oc-  
 casion. A great deal of good speaking;  
 sentiments warm from the heart; and,  
 what pleased me exceedingly, WATER  
 was almost the only drink. What pass-  
 ed at this dinner clearly showed the  
 truth of what you have always heard  
 me say, namely, that strong drink is  
 not necessary to inspire wit or good  
 humour.

On Sunday, the 28th of November,  
 I, accompanied by your brothers  
 WILLIAM and JOHN, left Liverpool,  
 on my road to Manchester, which I  
 was invited to visit, and where I was  
 invited to partake of a dinner, on the  
 Monday. But, before we lose sight  
 of Liverpool, let me correct some  
 mistatements, which you will see in  
 the news-papers, relative to a part  
 of what passed there. In order to  
 cast odium on me, these calumnious  
 news-papers have held me forth as  
 having been attended by one EGERTON  
 SMITH, the proprietor of a news-  
 paper, called the LIVERPOOL MER-  
 CURY. I never even *saw* this person,  
 during my stay at Liverpool; and, my  
 dear little boy, I hope you will con-  
 vince our good friends at New-York,  
 that there is not one word of truth in  
 this malicious story. Again, and,  
 doubtless, from the same motives, the  
 vile news-papers have asserted, that  
 the dinner was given me by a club,

called the *eccentric*, or *concentric*, society, which has a busy, meddling Unitarian Priest at its head. This is wholly false; and it is a fact, that some of the members of this little despicable club, were intriguing, day and night (from the moment my notification was issued) to prevent the meeting in Clayton Square! Nay, EGERTON SMITH, on the morning of the day of the meeting, published a long exhortation and almost a prayer to the people *not to attend the meeting!* In my last letter to Mr. HULME, I told him, that, when I arrived at Liverpool, I would put the importance of this little backbiting crew to the test. I did this, and I found them even more despicable than I had supposed them to be; though, you know, I always supposed them to be despicable enough.

I am almost ashamed to have bestowed so much notice on objects so insignificant, especially while so many grand objects are before me; but, as a great deal of talk has been made at New York about this Excentrick Society, or Concentrick (I really do not know which it is) I thought I would give you the history of its puny efforts upon this occasion.

Of a widely different character were the transactions connected with the address and invitation from the people of this noble county of Lancaster. We proceeded on our way to an Inn at a little hamlet called IRLAM, which is within ten miles of Manchester. There we slept on the Sunday night, and were, the next morning preparing to get into our coach and to go on to receive the welcome intended for us by our brave and honest hearted friends. A deputation had just arrived to accompany us on the way, when, not to my surprise at all, arrived a messenger on horse-back with a notification from the Boroughreeves and Constables of Manchester and Salford, interdicting any further advance towards the Town! I will here insert first their interdict, and then my comment on it, from which you will be

able clearly to understand the nature of the transaction.

"SIR,

"Having reason to believe that your Introduction into the Town of Manchester on Monday the 29th Instant is intended to be public, and to be accompanied by an unusual Procession and Multitude of People, as well Strangers as Inhabitants, we, the undersigned, being Boroughreeves and Constables of the Towns of Manchester and Salford, beg to inform you that we consider such an Assemblage of a great mass of the population of this district, in the present situation of the Country, is necessarily attended with considerable danger to the public peace. We do therefore caution you against making any public Entry into the Town of Manchester, and if you persist in so doing, or if you adopt any other proceedings, whereby the public peace may be broken or endangered, we shall feel it our indispensable duty immediately to interfere.

"We are, Sir,

"Your obedient Servants,

"T. SHARP, Boroughreeve,	} Manchester.
"J. ORFORD,	
"R. SMITH,	
"J. E. SCHOLES, Boroughreeve,	} Salford.
"T. MARRIOTT,	
"S. MATHEWS,	

"Manchester, 28th Nov. 1819."

"TO THE BOROUGHREEVES AND  
"CONSTABLES OF MANCHESTER  
"AND SALFORD.

"Irlam, Nov. 29, 1819.

"GENTLEMEN,—If it had come from any other persons in this world, the notification which I have just received from you, would have surprised me. Coming from you, it excites no surprise, nor any sort of feeling towards you, which was not before entertained by every just man, in every part of the world where your deeds and character have been heard of.

"But, Gentlemen, is it really come to this, that a man, upon returning to his country, or upon moving from one part of England to another, is



"to be stopped on his way by threats  
 "of *interference* (on the part of offi-  
 "cers appointed to keep the peace)  
 "lest the concourse of people, which  
 "his *mere presence* may draw toge-  
 "ther, should produce danger of a  
 "breach of the public peace? Is it  
 "really come to this? Is this the  
 "state of England? Is this the *law*?  
 "Is this one of the effects of that sys-  
 "tem, which we are told, is so excel-  
 "lent, that it requires no Reform?  
 "The laws of England secure to us  
 "the right of loco-motion; that is to  
 "say, the right of moving our bodies  
 "from one place to another. Now, if  
 "your notification be any thing more  
 "than a mere empty putting forth of  
 "words, it presumes that you have a  
 "right to prevent me from enjoying  
 "this liberty of loco-motion. For you  
 "tell me you shall *interfere*, if I per-  
 "sist in my intention of making a  
 "public entry [into your town; and,  
 "alas! we know too well what you  
 "mean by *interference*! And what  
 "do you mean by public entry? what  
 "do you mean, I say, by *public* entry?  
 "How am I to make any other than  
 "a public entry, if I enter it at all?  
 "Like other persons, my intention  
 "must have been to enter your town  
 "in a carriage, or on horseback, or  
 "on foot. Are not these the ways  
 "in which all other persons enter?  
 "And have not I a right to enter as  
 "other persons do? Either, there-  
 "fore, you must mean to forbid me  
 "to enter at all, or you must mean  
 "that I shall move like the women of  
 "the Seraglio of the Dey of Algiers,  
 "shut up in a box, with air holes  
 "in it, or ride upon a horse, my body  
 "and head being covered over with  
 "a species of tub. This is the state,  
 "is it, to which the system has  
 "brought once free and happy Eng-  
 "land?

"To what a pitch must men have  
 "arrived, when they could sit down  
 "and look one another in the face,  
 "while they wrote and signed a pa-  
 "per, such as that you sent me! This  
 "paper was addressed to a man hav-  
 "ing no power and no inclination to

"disturb the public peace; a man,  
 "who, with a knowledge of the re-  
 "cent events duly impressed upon his  
 "mind, had taken the precaution to  
 "beseech the people, not to mix up a  
 "reception of him with even an allu-  
 "sion to those events. It appears  
 "manifest that the public peace could  
 "not have been endangered from my  
 "entrance into Manchester. But, to  
 "see such multitudes of people assem-  
 "bled together to show their respect  
 "for me, appears to have been more  
 "than you could endure. We read  
 "accounts of the Prince of Saxe Co-  
 "bourg, the Marquis of Anglessea,  
 "the Duke of Wellington, and other  
 "great personages, moving here and  
 "there amidst public plaudits. In-  
 "finite pains, at any rate, are taken  
 "to make us believe that this is the  
 "case. What right, therefore, have  
 "you to make any attempt, either di-  
 "rectly or indirectly, to prevent the  
 "people from bestowing their ap-  
 "plause upon me, in person? Is not  
 "my right to move from place to  
 "place, as perfect as that of any of  
 "the three men that I have just men-  
 "tioned? Aye, but then, the assem-  
 "blages that they cause are so *small*!

"Suppose I were, at this moment,  
 "living at an Inn in Manchester. It  
 "is pretty clear, I believe, that an  
 "assemblage of persons would take  
 "place at any time that I chose to  
 "walk out to the spot where the  
 "dreadful scenes of the 16th of Au-  
 "gust were exhibited. What, then,  
 "would you expel me your town, or  
 "compel me to keep myself shut up  
 "in a room? And, if the people  
 "presumed to come to show me marks  
 "of their respect, would you visit  
 "them with your awful *interference*!  
 "Gentlemen, we shall live to see the  
 "day, and that day is, I believe, not  
 "distant, when I shall be able to visit  
 "the excellent people of Manchester  
 "and its neighbourhood, without  
 "your daring to step in between us  
 "with your threats of interference.

"Let me call on you to think a  
 "little on the figure you now make  
 "in the world. Here am I at ten

“ miles from Manchester: there are  
 “ the people whom you call an *un-  
 “ usual multitude*, ready to receive  
 “ me, and to bestow on me all possi-  
 “ ble marks of respect: and there are  
 “ you, sending me threats of inter-  
 “ ference, and preparing all sorts of  
 “ means for making that interference  
 “ effectual, in order to intercept a ver-  
 “ bal expression of popular approba-  
 “ tion, intended to be bestowed upon  
 “ a man, destitute of every species of  
 “ means of obtaining that approba-  
 “ tion, other than the means natu-  
 “ rally arising from his integrity and  
 “ his talents, his well-known love for  
 “ his country, and his well-known  
 “ zeal in her cause, during the whole  
 “ course of his life, under all circum-  
 “ stances, whether abroad or at home,  
 “ whether in prosperity or adversity.

“ Thus the parties stand before the  
 “ world. I disdain to tell you what  
 “ my intentions are; whether I intend  
 “ to enter Manchester or not. I  
 “ have made this comment upon your  
 “ communication, in order that the  
 “ nature of your conduct may be the  
 “ better understood: and, even in  
 “ doing this, I have condescended to  
 “ bestow on you too great an honour.

“ With feelings such as a real friend  
 “ of the people, a real lover of his  
 “ country, and faithful subject of the  
 “ King, must ever entertain towards  
 “ men like you, I am,

“ WM. COBBETT.”

It would have been really criminal  
 in me to proceed, for the purpose of  
 receiving marks of approbation, and  
 without any other purpose, when there  
 manifestly would have been danger to  
 the lives of some persons or other if the  
 military had been brought out to ob-  
 struct my entrance into Manchester.  
 What sort of preparations had been  
 made to effect that obstruction I did  
 not know; but, I give you the fol-  
 lowing account of them as contained  
 in the *Times* news-paper of to-day.

“ Manchester, Nov. 29.

“ (Abridged from the *Star*.)

“ By the public papers you will  
 “ have seen the announcement of

“ Cobbett's intention to visit Man-  
 “ chester. His arrival was fixed to  
 “ take place at 12 o'clock this day.  
 “ As early as 10 o'clock considerable  
 “ numbers of persons moved along  
 “ the Salford-road to meet him, and  
 “ form the procession by which he  
 “ was to be accompanied into town.  
 “ At the same time, bills were posted  
 “ about the streets, by order of the  
 “ boroughreeves and constables,  
 “ cautioning the peaceable and well-  
 “ disposed inhabitants to abstain  
 “ from joining the assemblage, and  
 “ to keep their children and servants  
 “ as much as possible within doors.  
 “ The special constables were all  
 “ called out, and the military were  
 “ under arms. As the time at which  
 “ Cobbett's arrival was expected  
 “ drew near, the military arrange-  
 “ ments assumed a more threatening  
 “ aspect. A troop of the 15th  
 “ Hussars, a large body of infantry,  
 “ and, I believe, two field-pieces,  
 “ were stationed close to the New  
 “ Bailey, by which Cobbett was ex-  
 “ pected to pass. Other bodies of  
 “ soldiery were posted in other quar-  
 “ ters of the town, and, I am told,  
 “ two field-pieces in Messrs. Pick-  
 “ ford's waggon-yard, where the  
 “ Yeomanry were *concealed* in the  
 “ early part of the forenoon on the  
 “ never-to-be-forgotten 16th of Au-  
 “ gust, and two more in George  
 “ Leigh-street, where the dinner of  
 “ Cobbett's friends was announced to  
 “ take place. These formidable pre-  
 “ parations seemed to announce,  
 “ that desperate measures were in  
 “ agitation. On passing the New  
 “ Bailey, about eleven o'clock, I met  
 “ a friend, who said, ‘they surely do  
 “ not mean to use violence against  
 “ the people?’ I replied, ‘I do not  
 “ know; I thought they would not  
 “ on the 16th of August. Now,  
 “ therefore, I have no confidence in  
 “ their conduct.’ Cobbett, I un-  
 “ derstand, last night slept at Irlam,  
 “ a place about ten miles hence, on  
 “ the road to Liverpool, and the  
 “ horses were put to the chaise in  
 “ which he meant to proceed to this



“town, when a beadle arrived with  
 “a letter from the boroughreeves and  
 “constables, to which he requested  
 “an answer, wherein, I understand,  
 “they said in effect, that, ‘as his  
 “entry in procession into Manches-  
 “ter would collect a great crowd,  
 “and cause great disturbance, they  
 “should not *permit* it to take place;  
 “and that if he attempted a public  
 “entry, they should feel it their duty  
 “to interfere.’ Cobbett informed  
 “the messenger that ‘no answer was  
 “necessary,’ and he deemed it pru-  
 “dent to return to Warrington.”

Here, then, were the prepara-  
 tions which had been made for the  
 reception of your father in this part  
 of his country. You will feel pride,  
 my dear son, and you will feel  
 sorrow at the same time: pride that I  
 am the terror of those of whom  
 I am the terror; and sorrow that  
 your country should be in such a  
 state, that it is thought dangerous,  
 or pretended to be thought dangerous,  
 that a great multitude of people should  
 be assembled to express their appro-  
 bation of a man who has no power  
 whatsoever to influence them in the ex-  
 pression of their opinions; who has,  
 personally, never been able to render  
 any one of those people a service, and  
 who has become an object of their ad-  
 miration only because they think him  
 a person possessed of great talents,  
 and which talents they believe him to  
 have employed for the good, the safety,  
 and the honour of his country. I be-  
 lieve this to be the first instance, in  
 any age or country where the public  
 authority and public force have been  
 employed to prevent any man, whe-  
 ther deserving or not, from receiving  
 marks of public approbation. What  
 must be the state of a country, in  
 which such proceedings can take place?  
 What must be the system of Govern-  
 ment, under which such proceedings  
 can be attempted?

You will perceive, my dear son,  
 that there was *no meeting* called; that  
 it was clearly understood by all par-  
 ties, that the people had no other ob-  
 ject in view than to give me an ho-

nourable welcome on my return to my  
 country. It was merely a passage in-  
 to the town; it was a thing which any  
 man had a right to do; it was that,  
 which to be refused the enjoyment of,  
 argues a state of things in which there  
 exists not the smallest remnant of li-  
 berty or of law. Upon how many oc-  
 casions do we hear the hirelings of the  
 press praising the people for assem-  
 bling in great numbers, when Princes,  
 Princesses, Generals, and others are  
 passing from place to place! With  
 what clangour they ring in our ears,  
 the cheerings and the shouts with  
 which such personages are hailed!  
 Yet, upon this occasion, to hear these  
 same hireling prints, one would ima-  
 gine that it was a crime to give or to  
 receive popular applause. What!  
 could they not endure the sight of  
 seeing a hundred thousand persons as-  
 sembled; *voluntarily* assembled, from  
 no other motive than that of express-  
 ing their approbation of me? This, it  
 seems, was too much to be endured;  
 and especially when it was considered  
 in how low and degraded a light my  
 hosts of calumniators had endeavoured  
 to place me during my absence.

If I had been left to choose a set of  
 transactions, calculated to do me  
 honour, and at the same time to cover  
 my adversaries with everlasting con-  
 fusion, I should have chosen this very  
 set of transactions. For in them every  
 thing is contained that was necessary  
 to give an answer, abroad as well  
 as at home, to all the numerous  
 volumes of calumny, which have,  
 during the two last years and a half,  
 been poured forth against me. Ob-  
 serve, too, my dear son, that I had  
 used no means to enlist the passions  
 of the people of Lancashire in my  
 behalf. I knew what had recently  
 taken place amongst them; I knew  
 what feelings were most active in  
 their bosoms. But, I scorned to owe  
 any portion of popular applause to an  
 attempt, on my part, to feed those  
 feelings. I was determined that the  
 manner of my reception should de-  
 pend wholly upon the sentiments re-  
 specting myself, existing in the minds

of the people. And, therefore, in my cautionary Address, which I have inserted above, I besought them not, in any degree, to mix up their reception of me with the recent transactions. I told them at the same time, that, in entering Manchester, I should see *none but friends*; thereby intimating, and clearly intimating, that I anxiously wished, that, for the time that I was there, at least, all animosities should be buried in oblivion. The people, always just, always reasonable, always magnanimous, always generous, received this species of admonition very kindly at my hands, and as if it had been delivered by a brother or a father. They slackened not in the prosecution of their intentions to receive me kindly; and in this act of theirs, they clearly showed, that it was not in their nature to be obdurate or unforgiving. Look at the people, then; look at their generous conduct, and compare it with the conduct of those who threatened me with *interference*, if I should dare to enter their town in any other than a secret manner.

Leaving you and leaving the world to make further comments on the conduct of those who threatened us with interference, I will next insert the Lancashire Address, sent from Manchester, and presented to me in Clayton-square, Liverpool. To the Address I shall subjoin my answer, just observing, here, that the London news-papers of this day tell me, that the females of Manchester had prepared an elegant *writing stand* which it was their intention to present to me on my arrival in that town.

ADDRESS FROM THE INHABITANTS  
OF THE COUNTY PALATINE OF  
LANCASTER.

"DEAR AND MUCH ESTEEMED SIR,  
"We, the inhabitants of Lancashire, deem ourselves happy in an opportunity to address you. The moment in which you return to your native country is most eventful; an awful crisis appears to be impending! On the one hand we behold the people sinking, or becoming

"desperate under accumulated burthens and privations, and exasperated by unlawful violence and insult; whilst on the other, their oppressors are beset with difficulties and embarrassments, the natural and inevitable results of former rapacity and extravagance.

"You, Sir, have long and most assiduously laboured to warn the spoilers of the precipice to which they are advancing. With unparalleled clearness and energy of reasoning, you demonstrated the tendency and foretold the issue of the course of folly and injustice; pleading, at the same time, the rights of your injured and suffering countrymen. But, deaf alike to the admonitions of reason, and to the claims of justice; intent only on expedients to extend and to preserve their profitable usurpations, they have proceeded in their career until they have amply justified all your warnings, and until events are fast realizing all your predictions.

"Your labours, Sir, during your absence from us, while they have warmed and enlightened us in the sacred cause of Reform, have been the subject of admiration amongst us, and the cause of confusion and shame to our enemies. The industry, perseverance, and fortitude exhibited in the labours of your life, and more especially during the late two years and a half of that life, will serve as a bright example to our children; while their more immediate effects have been and will be, of unspeakable benefit to ourselves. Proceed, Sir, in the course you have so successfully pursued; continue by your great talents and energies to sustain the cause of the injured; to dispel the sophisms of the venal and the profligate, and to beat down the pretensions of the oppressors. From your powerful aid at this critical period, we anticipate the most benign consequences to our lawful Sovereign, and to his faithful, but oppressed, suffering and



"insulted people, while we confidently expect, from that aid, a speedy reform in the Commons' House of Parliament.

"The People of England, Sir, while they have been instructed by you; while they by you have been enabled to penetrate into the hidden recesses of the Paper-Money Fraud; while they have, by you, been more expressly taught to know the foundation of their Rights, and to overcome the usurpers in the field of argument; while they have, by you, been led to oppose the powers of reason to the brutal force employed by their adversaries; have, at the same time, imitated your frankness of proceeding; and we beg you to be assured, that even now, after all that we have endured, we have no wish to change the constitution of our country, or any part of it; that we have all along been sincere in our professions; that we desire only to obtain a Reform in the Commons' House of Parliament, on the principles of that House being annually elected by the suffrages of every man whose property and whose person are subjected to its enactments; and this Reform we are determined to obtain, or die during our endeavours.

"We have beheld, Sir, with indignation, the unprincipled attempts made in your absence to rob you of our attachment. With grateful acknowledgements for your patriotic exertions, we hail your return to the land of your birth, and, with best wishes for the health and prosperity of yourself and your family, we are, very respectfully and truly yours."

"TO THE INHABITANTS OF THE COUNTY PALATINE OF LANCASTER.

"BELOVED COUNTRYMEN AND COUNTRYWOMEN.

"The affectionate addresses, in which you have hailed my return to my native land, have made upon my heart an impression which will

"never be effaced till that heart shall cease to beat. I know of nothing worthy of the names of happiness and honour which does not include the happiness and honour of my country at large: it has always, by me, been considered an insult to be bid to take comfort while my country was in a state of misery.

"When I retreated to America, it was not to secure myself from personal suffering so much as to be able to finish, in spite of gags, dungeons, and halters, the great work of exposing that horrid system, by the means of which this country has been brought to its present most miserable and degraded state; and, I am glad to perceive, that you are of opinion that I have succeeded in putting the finishing hand to that exposure.

"Judge, my kind friends, of the pleasure that I have, during my absence, enjoyed in beholding the fulfilment, step by step, of my predictions! Judge of the pleasure I have enjoyed at beholding our enemies writhing under my lash; and, while endeavouring to disguise their torments, muttering curses between their teeth. But, what are those pleasures, compared to that which now fills my bosom at beholding the certain proofs of the speedy destruction of all that stands in the way of the happiness of the people and the safety of the throne.

"How many times have I had the honour to remind you, that corruption never yields without a desperate struggle; but, when we see her desperate, we ought to conclude that she is conscious of her approaching end. While her affairs are flourishing, her prospects fair, her condition safe, she is as quiet and as drowsy as the wolf with a dead carcase in his den unconsumed; but put her in danger of losing a supply of prey, and she darts forth, with fury in her eyes and death in her jaws. The monster will not, she cannot, end her rapacious, ferocious and bloody career without most

“desperate attempts to preserve herself; but be you what you have been, brave, cool, sensible, persevering, and, you will very shortly see her expire.

“Nothing great, in national affairs, can be accomplished without patience as well as perseverance. Premature efforts, even against this monster, Corruption, are to be avoided by all means. When the whale is harpooned, he is suffered to work out his own destruction, until he is nearly at the last gasp. Let the poison, which is working in the veins of the monster, get nearer her heart; let us see her limbs begin to fail her; and then, taking the names of king and people for the signal of onset, wholly and entirely destroy her.

“Gratified as I am by every part of your address, I must express my particular satisfaction at your expressions with regard to a faithful adherence to our professions of attachment to the form of government, under which we were born, and under which our forefathers enjoyed so much happiness and freedom. Our base enemies, unable to answer our arguments, to deny our facts, to say that our claims are not just; these enemies, not quite impudent enough to assert that seat-selling, with its necessary companions, bribery and perjury, are right and ought not to be removed, resort to the falsehood, that it is not a reform, but a *subversion* that we want; and that, therefore, the only answer for us ought to come from the mouth of the musket. For this reason your frank declaration upon this subject has given me great and peculiar satisfaction; especially as I am thoroughly convinced, from the experience of the last twenty-six years of my life, that to introduce a republican government into England would be to do all that man can do to degrade the national character, to create a new, and if possible, a more base species of Corruption, and to render that Corruption

“perpetual. Being quite prepared to produce reasons and facts in support of this opinion, I need say no more, on this subject, at present, than that I am most happy to perceive, that those, who have ascribed your zealous efforts to revolutionary motives, have, upon this, as upon all other occasions, been base and malignant calumniators.

“Our object is a Reform in the Commons’ House of Parliament, which Reform shall include Universal Suffrage and Annual Parliaments. When this object has been obtained, all minor reforms will speedily follow; but, until this be obtained, there can, in my opinion, be no diminution of the misery and discord which now prevail. To obtain this Reform, therefore, long has been, and still shall be, the main object of the labours of my life.

“As to the attempts, which have been made, during my absence, to rob me of your attachment, they have brought a suitable punishment on the heads of their authors, who, without any answer on my part, have, by the indignation of a generous people, from the pinnacle of popular favour to which I had myself raised them, been hurled down to the deepest deep of popular contempt and public insignificance.

“This day I shall consider one of the proudest of my life. To receive praise, which I may hope to merit, from any part of my countrymen, is always highly gratifying; how, then, must I feel at receiving such marks of approbation from the brave and enlightened people of this great and famous county, which, in reality, contains more of real wealth and power than some of those states which are called kingdoms.

“I thank you most sincerely for the kind expression of your good wishes towards myself and family; and I most solemnly assure you, that the utmost endeavours of my life shall be employed to promote the happiness of you and yours.

“WM. COBBETT.”



In this Address and this Answer, you see, my dear James, the best possible refutation of the charges preferred against the people on the score of disloyalty, and against me on the score of integrity. Here we are, all perfectly consistent, and perfectly loyal. Does it want new laws against the press to prevent the promulgation of doctrines like these? Is it to put down principles like these that new and grinding laws are required? Is it at principles like these that the Government takes alarm? Do the people profess a desire to overturn any thing established by law, and do I invite them to any such overturning? Read my answer attentively, my dearest little son, and then you will be prepared with an answer for whomsoever shall dare in your presence to accuse your father of projects for overturning the constitution of England.

What a strange thing, that the public authorities should call forth horse, foot and artillery to prevent one of the King's subjects from proceeding publicly to an assemblage of an hundred or two thousand persons, in order to tell them, that he has great pleasure at beholding certain proofs of the speedy destruction of all that stands in the way of the happiness of the people and the safety of the Throne; in order to tell them not to make any premature effort even against Corruption herself, but to stop till she grows feeble, and then, taking the names of King and People for the signal of onset, wholly and entirely destroy her; in order to tell them that he is gratified most highly at perceiving that they faithfully adhere to an attachment to the form of government under which they were born, and under which their fore-fathers enjoyed so much happiness and freedom; in order to assure them that the experience of the last twenty-six years of his life has convinced him that to introduce Republican Government into England would be to do all that man can do to degrade the national character, to create a new and if pos-

sible more base species of Corruption, and to render that Corruption perpetual! What a strange thing is this! If a band of determined and bloody-minded revolutionists had endeavoured to prevent this answer of mine from being read to the People of Lancashire, the conduct of that band might have been natural enough; but, that this Act of prevention should have been committed by men professing to be loyal subjects of the King, and pretending to regard me and the people as disloyal; is, surely, something too strange to have been expected to be witnessed in any country but this, and in this country at any other time than the present.

There arises out of this Address of the county of Lancaster and out of my answer to that Address, this alternative: either, that I knew the people to be firmly fixed in principles of attachment to the Constitution; or, that I, not knowing this, dare tell them that it is their duty to entertain that attachment. If I had proceeded to Manchester, I should, in the midst of a hundred thousand people or more than a hundred thousand, have read my Answer to them; and, is there a sincere man in the whole world, who will say that I should have done that without being fully convinced that the great mass of the people were favorable to the political sentiments that I was expressing?

Let it be well remembered, then, that, it is in this state of the people's minds, that new laws are passing to put down what is called sedition. New laws are passing to narrow the circulation of publications issuing from the press; nay, it is pretty clear to me that the main object of these laws is to narrow the circulation of publications proceeding from my pen. Let the world judge, then, of the situation, in which those stand who think themselves in need of such laws.

After it became unadvisable and improper to proceed further on the road to Manchester, we went back to Warrington and took the road to

London; not, however, before I took an opportunity to make a short address to about two hundred persons who had assembled round the Inn, and some of whom had come on foot all the way from Manchester. I never shall forget the looks of these men, and, indeed, of these women, for there were some of both sexes. My hand yet reminds me of the hard squeezes that it received from them; and you know how great a favorite of mine a hard squeeze of the hand is.

We arrived at Coventry late in the evening of the 30th. We went to bed about 12 o'clock, and got up about half-past eight. When I came down into a front room of the house to breakfast, I found a great number of persons assembled in the street opposite the house; and finding that they were there for the purpose of seeing me, I informed them that I should set off in precisely an hour from that time. When we started a great number of persons followed us to a distance of about a quarter of a mile out of the city, where there was an open space on the side of the road, surrounded by some high banks. Having drawn the chaise up in a suitable position, and having placed myself upon the out-side of the chaise on the foot-board, I found myself surrounded by several thousands of persons of both sexes, the females forming a very beautiful battalion, many of them with children in their arms, in one part of the circle, not mixed amongst the men, while other persons were running towards us not only along the track of the chaise from the City, but in all directions over the fields and meadows. Never did I behold any spectacle in my whole life that gave me so much pleasure as this. I now addressed this most interesting assembly; relating to them, first, all the transactions relative to the intended entrance into Manchester; then stating to them my opinion as to the causes of the present sufferings of the country, and as to the remedies which ought to be applied; next adverting to the con-

duct of their present Members in Parliament, showing them what those Members might, in my opinion, have done for the country, during the last Session of Parliament, if they had been disposed to do it, and assuring them that upon the next occasion that should present itself I should offer myself to them in that capacity, and concluding by exhorting them to the exercise of their patience to the last possible moment, and thanking them most cordially for the welcome which I had received at their hands.

Now, you will observe that this was not a *meeting*. There had been nothing done to call it together. It was spontaneous, it was collected of itself, by the mere sound of my name. The honour which this reflected on me ought not, however, to be the principle object of your attention. You ought to reflect on the causes of my being thus popular. And, if those who are now passing bills against the press were to reflect on these causes, they would take a course very different, indeed, from that which they are now taking. The people of Coventry know nothing of me but through the means of my writings. What effect, then, must those writings have had upon their minds! During the two years and a half of my absence, there has been not less than three hundred publications in this kingdom almost constantly at work endeavouring to destroy the effect of those writings, not only by attacks on the writings themselves, but by every species of calumny against their author. And, at Coventry, on Wednesday last, all these assailants and calumniators received their answer. Those who are in a wrong cause, and who have inestimable power in their hands, never listen to reason in time; or, surely, those who are now passing their string of Bills would, taking all these circumstances into consideration, pause before they proceeded further.

It is useless, my dear Son, to attempt to describe to you the situation of

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England at this time. You will easily perceive what it is even from the transactions of which I have spoken above. I am happy to tell you that Mr. Hunt is well; and that, with the exception of the very ignorant and the very corrupt, his conduct has the hearty approbation of this whole nation.

The great thing to look to is the state of the Funding System; or, as Lord Grenville called it last year, the Paper Bubble. This is the mark whereon for us to keep our eye; for I still remain firmly convinced that there will be no alteration for the better, until that Bubble shall burst, and in a manner, too, much more complete than the little contemptible Bubble of the *Hickory Quaker* at New York. You will be surprised; or, rather, you will, my dear little boy, be ashamed to read what Lord Castlereagh said in the House of Commons the other night upon the subject of *distresses* in America. How the people there will laugh at the idea that England, that this great and famous England has been plunged into a state of misery by Jacob Barker and his bank-notes! This Lord really appears to me to know no more about such matters than either of your pigs. He is reported to have said that the *distresses* here arise, in part, at least, from the embarrassments and *distresses* in America. And he is further reported to have said that the *distresses* in England will, for this reason, be temporary. In the first place there is now no distress in America. For a few weeks the blowing up of the base part of the paper threw things out of joint; but, as you well know, they set themselves right again immediately. The farms of those who had borrowed the vile paper-money, changed owners; but that was all; for, as for the sending of the discounting and accommodation gentlemen and a great part of the ribbon and tape-sellers out into the country to split rails and to hoe corn, that was a clear benefit to the community. Prices fell precisely one half; and though labour has not yet fallen one half, it

will come down to its proper level, and then all will be right. The trifling difficulty that remains at present is, the bringing of labour down to the level of provisions. When that is done all will be right, because there is no tax-gatherer to come and demand from the raiser of the produce twice as much of that produce as he demanded before. This, as you will bear in mind, is the great difference in the state of the two countries. The diminution of the quantity of circulating medium produces the temporary effects which we have witnessed in America; and, a like diminution accompanied by enormous and un-relaxing taxation produces the horrible permanent effects which we now behold in England.

This, therefore, ought to be the great object of our attention; and now let me point out to you the folly of supposing, that, as far as relates to effects produced here by what this Lord is pleased to call the distress in America; the folly of supposing that these effects are to be temporary. We know well, that things in that great country are assuming a settled state; that the scandalous frauds of paper-money are under a course of complete abolition from Society; we know that there is no law to protect paper-money makers from demands of payment in specie; we know that the taxes at the Custom-House are collected in specie; we know that the mark to which prices are descending, will, when a great deal more of the paper has been swept away, remain *permanent*. What, then, is to make the effect upon English manufactures temporary? You will observe, that the American farmer can now expend on English commodities not half so much as he expended in 1816 and in 1817. He has only half as much to expend. The consequence of this is, that there is a smaller demand for those articles; and the consequence of that is, less money is drawn from America to England. The Debts due six months ago by the importers in America cannot be paid to their creditors in England; because

they can sell the goods imported for only about half as much as they must have sold them for to be able to pay. Either the goods must remain unsold or they must be sold at half the price at which they were sold only last year, seeing that the produce of the land has fallen one half in price.

These observations are so correct, and so familiar to men's minds, that nobody will affect to deny the truth of them; and, if Castlereagh had said merely that this change of things in America had been one cause of the distress in England, he would have been right enough; but, it discovered ignorance most profound to suppose that this cause would be temporary; and, he will find that in a very short time the American market will be wholly lost to the manufactures of England, unless those manufactures can be sent thither unloaded with their portion of our forty or fifty millions of annual taxes.

But to what a state must a country like England have been brought, when its happiness and safety is, by one of the King's ministers, represented as being, in any degree, dependant upon the pecuniary state, or any part of the state, of foreign countries! Into what an uncertain, what a precarious situation we must be brought when Bills like those which are now before the Parliament are to be in any degree founded on effects which are ascribed to causes about which Englishmen ought to care no more than about the croaking of the tree-toads in Long-Island! Is this a state in which England ought to be; and is this that security which Pitt and his followers promised us as the fruit of twenty-six years of war? One would imagine that all sense of shame must have taken its departure from the human breast before an apology like this could be made and boldly put forward for the animadversion of mankind. His Royal Highness the Regent has, in the Speech framed by his Ministers, also talked of the *transitory* nature of our present distresses. Words seem to have changed their meanings. To protect a Bank

against the demands of its lawful creditors is called *restraining it from cash-payments*, and an enormous evil of five years' duration, without the smallest prospect of an end, is called *transient* and *temporary*. Temporary as it is, be you assured, my dear child, that the term of its duration will be precisely that of the duration of the Funding System.

Laugh, I beg you to laugh, at all the attempts that are making to stifle what I have to say upon these subjects. "Pay your Bank-notes in specie" has always been my answer to every attempt to stifle my voice or to restrain the movements of my pen; for, until they can do that they can really do nothing. You know that they are to pay in gold bars on the first of February next. I do not say that an attempt of the Bank to take in its own notes at a discount of about five per cent. will not be made; for, we saw the same thing done by Jacob Barker, in New York. Jacob seems to be a sort of pattern. Our gentlemen are to pay in large pieces of gold, and Jacob pays in *coals and salt*. He first puts out an immense quantity of notes and he then tells the holders that he will pay them honestly if they will bring them and exchange them at his coal-yard or at his salt-store; and at this very moment you are warming yourself at a fire and eating legs of pork arising out of these very transactions. Jacob is a great financier; and I should not be at all surprised to see our pretty gentlemen following his example in more respects than one.

Before next July some new measures must be adopted with regard to the Debt and the Taxes in England. To pay in specie is impossible. Always bear this in mind. It is said that the taxes of the present year are falling short in a very great degree. Whether this be true or not I have no means of ascertaining; but, reason would lead me to suppose that it must be true; for the amount of the taxes must be in proportion to the amount of the circulating medium; and that amount must be greatly reduced from

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what it was nine months ago before the Bank will dare to attempt to pay its notes though in sixty-ounce bars of gold, and though with a discount of five per cent. But, there is another cause at work to produce an immediate reduction in the amount of the taxes; namely, an abstaining from the use of those heavily taxed articles, beer, wine, spirits, tea, coffee, and tobacco. This is a measure strongly recommended by Mr. Hunt, and, acted upon to an extent which will reflect everlasting honour on the English name. The excise is now almost the only source of revenue. Of that excise the articles which I have mentioned make up according to my best recollection (for I have no book to refer to) more than three fourths; and, if only a third part of these three fourths be withheld in consequence of the adoption of this measure of sobriety and frugality, the consequences will be the most beneficial that can be imagined. How happy a family can be, how healthy, how cheerful, how active, how everlastingly vigilant and industrious, without the use of strong drink of any sort, you, my dear son, well know. As to tea, there are several herbs and plants of our own native growth which far surpass it in point of flavor, and which, while they are equally good as to the little enlivening effects which tea produces, have not the corrosive and enfeebling effects of that noxious leaf, which, even in persons of strong frame, produce tremulousness in the nerves, an absence of sleep in many cases, and in all cases a gradual debility of the mind. For the far greater part of my life I have abstained from the use of it; and when fashion, when inattention, when the dislike to be singular has made me yield to the use of it, I have always felt the evil consequences. Sage has been the thing which I have used in its stead; and you will recollect that during the two years that I was imprisoned in Newgate, with a fine of a thousand pounds upon my head, and with seven years recognizances

to follow that, because I had written an article about the flogging of English local militia men, at the Town of Ely, under a guard of German soldiers, I never swallowed one drop of tea, but when I took any thing other than milk and water, I used rosemary, in imitation of Major Cartwright, who has used no tea for the last forty or fifty years of his life. As to coffee, wheat parched in the same way that coffee is burned, is even better than coffee; is full as palatable, and has not that heating quality which coffee has, and which quality has not only a very bad effect upon the nerves, but, which has, as an eminent French physician has clearly proved to my satisfaction, a tendency to produce swarthinness of complexion. *Tobacco!* What can have introduced the filthy habit of using this most filthy weed! Why, the same cause that induces the Turks and many others to chew opium. It exhilarates, it produces, for the time, an unnatural liveliness, but every thing which has this effect, be it what it may, has a tendency to exhaust the natural powers of both body and mind; to shorten life and to shorten the duration of the vigour of man's faculties within that life. You, my dear son, have constantly before your eyes the odious, and in some respects, the fatal effects of a general and unblushing use of this filthy weed. The ladies in America are gentle in the extreme. They are indulgent to their husbands and their brothers. But, little as they are addicted to the finding of fault, they can scarcely forbear complaining, and that too, in most bitter terms, of this detestable habit of using tobacco in all its shapes, and in all the various ways that it can be made use of to produce disgust. But, in this country, the use of tobacco admits of no possible apology; for here it is seldom used by any but the labouring classes. The very use of it is a mark of vulgarity; and yet the expence of it here is, by taxation, rendered enormous. As much tobacco can be bought in America for a single cent, that is to say, an English half-penny as can be bought here for two shillings or half-a-crown. The thing here is literally almost all tax, and you will observe, this tax is paid almost wholly by the labouring classes. And what are we to think of the labouring man? What are we to think of any man who has a family to maintain by his industry, who can expend any portion of his earnings for the sake of gratifying an idle and even a beastly habit! The female reformers merit great praise for the warmth with which they have espoused the cause of their country; and, to render themselves an object of admiration with the whole world,

only remains for them to abstain from the use of foreign tea, and to compel their husbands and lovers (if any compulsion should unhappily be needed) to abstain from the use of beer, wine, spirits, tea, coffee, and tobacco.

I would recommend that, in all clubs and societies, of every description, that it be made a rule to disown, to discard, to shun, to stigmatize every man who refuses to conform himself to these suggestions of sobriety and frugality. It is said in the Holy Bible, that "*the drunkard and the glutton shall come to poverty.*" And by the drunkard is not meant merely the wretch who wallows in the kennel; but he who drinks that which nature does not call for; he who indulges wantonly, in drink of an exhilarating kind; and by the glutton is meant not only the large feeder, for men's appetites differ very much; but the name includes every one who indulges himself in the swallowing of that which is not necessary to his bodily sustenance. By those who adopt these frugal, these sober, these cleanly habits, it will soon be found how great are the blessings which they bring in their train. The quantity of meat and of bread which the mother will find increase upon her hands to give to her children, and the health, the harmony, the peace of mind, the clearness of head, and the stock of knowledge, which will be derived from this source are to be justly estimated by those only who have practiced habits of sobriety and frugality, and who have been attentive observers of the effects of contrary habits in other persons.

These are no new notions with me. I have all my life-time been a hater of drunkards and gluttons; and if you turn to the Register of about December 1815, you will find a long essay on the mischievousness arising from the use of tea amongst the common people. Just about the time that your mother and I were married, the people of England abstained very generally from the use of sugar, even sugar. And on what account?—Because sugar was produced by the sweat of slaves. We were amongst those who so abstained, and we never used sugar as long as we remained in England at that time. Habit does a great deal. We acquire tastes of the palate as well as tastes of the mind; and, they are to be dismissed in the one case as well as in the other. Surely if people could abstain from sugar, the most captivating of all things that the appetite indulges in, they can abstain from the use of all the things above enumerated. It is false to say that strong drink of any sort gives durable vigour. A constant water drinker will beat a constant beer-drinker at any of the labours required of man; and as to wine and spirits, neither was ever used without doing more or less harm to the body into which they were poured.

For my own part I have very little to do in order to put in practice every part of the precepts which I have here given to the pub-

lic. But that little I am resolved to do, and my determination henceforth is, that in my house, except in cases of sickness, where wine or sugar may be deemed necessary, none of the above mentioned articles shall again be used. Those who cannot be content with simple fare may keep at a distance from my board; he whose society is not to be had without being purchased by the allurements of drink is not a companion for me or for any part of my family.

Political considerations, therefore, wholly out of the question, this change in the habits of the country is most gratifying to me. We shall now be able to meet one another without that ostentation, and that species of rivalry on the road to ruin, which has caused so many fathers and mothers to cover their tables with decanters and glasses, while they looked at their children with an aching heart. We shall now be able to meet our neighbours in England as we met our neighbours in America; that is to say, without the fear of a return of their visit; without a fear, while we are partaking of their fare, that they will come to partake of ours. Intercourse will become more pleasant; we shall not meet each other with anxiety on our countenances; we shall hear no paltry apologies, at which, while the tongue pronounces them the cheek blushes. We shall not hear any more excuses about not having red wine or white wine or brandy or hollands. The water is always abundant, and the producing of it, the bare putting it upon the table in a clean jug will at once rid society of a very considerable portion of that pestiferous false shame which long has been urging kind friends and neighbours on to the ruin of each other.

In a political point of view, however, this is a change of immense importance. Heaven is not more different from Hell than a sober people is different from a drunken rabble. Besides, though that which is now expended in the above mentioned articles will go to the baker, the butcher, the manufacturer and the schoolmaster, it will be removed out of the immediate grasp of the tax-gatherer, and from this cause a great diminution in the receipts of the taxing people will arise, which diminution, at the present time, will be most severely felt, and, as it is my firm opinion, that it is to the fate of the finances that we can alone look for that reform which I think will make the people happy and the crown secure, I most earnestly recommend an instant adoption and a resolute perseverance in these virtuous habits of sobriety and frugality.

God bless you, my dear son. Remember me kindly to all our good neighbours on Long Island. I am sure you will be beloved and caressed by all who know you. Never do or say any thing that shall be hostile to the good people of America; but never forget that you are bound always to be a zealous lover of your own country and a faithful subject of the King.

WM. COBBETT.

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